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IG BUSINESS AND THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

New Outlook Publishers



BETTINA APTHEKER

BIG BUSINESS
AND THE
AMERICAN
UNIVERSITY

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1966

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

BETTINA APTHEKER was born in Fort Bragg, North Carolina in 1944. A student at the University of California, she was one of the leaders of the campus revolt which took place at the end of 1964 and the first months of 1965. The militant protests of the students, under the leadership of the Free Speech Movement, against the suppression of academic freedom took the form of sit-downs, demonstrations and a general student strike. It attracted nationwide attention.

The fight was won but only after brutal police assaults on the protesting students and the arrest of more than 800—largest peacetime arrest in the history of the country. Bettina Aptheker was active in the demonstrations, spoke at meetings and was one of the delegates at meetings with the authorities. She was jailed along with the others.

As a tribute to her vigorous leadership Bettina was elected, with the highest vote, as a student representative to the University-wide Rules Committee. On the eve of the vote she openly declared her membership in the Communist Party.

In the first year at the University Bettina was active in the community civil rights struggle in the San Francisco Bay area directed against job discrimination during which she was arrested. She is presently concluding her junior year at the University and continues the fight to maintain the gains won in the big struggle.

Bettina Aptheker repeatedly pointed out in the free speech battle that the real force seeking suppression of the rights of the students was the Board of Regents which consists of the Big Business elite in the State of California as elsewhere. The text of this pamphlet is based on a report made to the Youth Commission of the CPUSA on the significance of the free speech fight and on the crisis of the American Universities which it highlighted. Bettina is the daughter of the well-known Marxist historian, Dr. Herbert Aptheker.

The cover photo shows hundreds of police confronting U. of California students demonstrating at Sproul Hall, Dec. 3, 1964.

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*"From the tip of San Diego, to the top of Berkeley's hills
We have built a mighty factory, to impart our social skills
Social engineering triumph, managers of every kind
Let us all with drills and homework
Manufacture human minds!"*

—From Free Speech Movement "Christmas Carols"
(Sung to Beethoven's Ninth)

INTRODUCTION

A Young Girl's Letter

(A "young girl's letter" was printed in the magazine section of the New York Times on November 29, 1964.)

To the Editor:

I'm a student in the oldest girls' school in the country. I love my school, but your recent article on homework really hit home ("Hard Day's Night of Today's Students," by Eda J. LeShan). I came to this school not thinking I could even keep up with the work. I was wrong. I can keep up. I can even come out on top. My daily schedule's rough: I get up at 6:30 and have classes from 8:15 to 3:00 and stay in study hall or engage in activities until 5:30. I have majors, plus religion, speech, music and art once or twice a week. All this I can take. The homework I can't. I work from 3:00 until 5:00 in school.

After dinner I work until midnight or 12:30. In the beginning, the first two weeks or so, I'm fine. Then I begin to wonder just what this is all about: am I educating myself? I have that one all answered in my mind. I'm educating myself the way *they* want. So I convince myself the real reason I'm doing all this is to prepare myself for what I want. Only one problem. After four years of this comes four years of college and two of graduate school for me. I know just where I'm going and just what I want, but I'm impatient.

Okay, I can wait. But meanwhile I'm wasting those years of

preparation. I'm not learning what I want to learn. I don't care anymore whether $2+2=4$. I don't care about the feudal system. I want to know about life. I want to think and read. When? Over week-ends when there are projects and lectures and compositions, plus catching up on sleep.

My life is a whirlpool. I'm caught up in it, but I'm not conscious of it. I'm what you call living, but somehow I can't find life. Days go by in an instant. I feel nothing accomplished in that instant. So maybe I got an A on that composition I worked on for three hours, but when I get it back I find that A means nothing. It's a letter you use to keep me going.

Everyday I come in well-prepared. Yet I dread every class; my stomach tightens and I sit tense. I drink coffee morning, noon and night. At night, after my homework I lie in bed and wonder if I've really done it all. Is there something I've forgotten?

At the beginning of the year I'm fine. My friends know me by my smile. Going to start out bright this year. Weeks later I become introspective and moody again. I wonder what I'm doing here. I feel phony; I don't belong. All I want is time; time to sit down and read what I want to read, and think what I want to think.

You wonder about juvenile delinquents. If I ever become one, I'll tell you why it will be so. I feel cramped. I feel like I'm in a coffin and can't move or breathe. There's no air or light. All I can see is blackness and I've got to burst. Sometimes I feel maybe something will come along. Something has to or I'm not worth anything. My life is worth nothing. It's enclosed in a few buildings on one campus; it goes no further. I've got to bust.

Name Withheld

P.S. I wrote this last night at 12:15 and in the light of day I realize this will never reach you.

• • •

This profound expression of anguish is shared by millions of students, in some way, everywhere in the country. It is difficult to imagine a more devastating indictment of education.

In a letter written January 18, 1965, Dr. John S. Hadsell, Presbyterian University pastor in Berkeley, commented on the material put out by the students of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement:

The documents are most interesting in the tone and content they have acquired over the past month or so. In tone, they are less polemical and combative, with a profounder

sense of tragedy and ambiguity; in content they have moved significantly away from the immediate political-speech issue to the deeper sources of frustration which most of us have been fruitlessly discussing for several years now. I mean, of course, the bureaucratic quality of the university administration, the professionalism of the faculty, the meaninglessness of the course system, the avoidance of the profoundest human questions and issues.

(As quoted in *Issue: Those Who Make the Waves*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring, 1965 published by the Publications of the University Church Council, Berkeley).

In a world bursting with knowledge and human advance millions of young Americans share the agony of University life. To go to school, to partake in the miracle of learning, should be the greatest joy. Instead it becomes a nightmare. Why?

The source of the problem in our universities is that they are controlled by and serve the interests of the giant monopolies and corporations. Indeed, the universities are controlled by the most reactionary sections of this corporate elite. This control has led to Clark Kerr's "multiversity." It has led to an anti-human and anti-progressive content in education. It has led to vast bureaucracies and hierarchies in the universities. It has led to a situation where the emphasis is on training students rather than teaching them. It has led toward computerized education in the "knowledge factory" to serve society as it is, instead of academic institutions dedicated to the improvement and progress of society as a whole.

This pamphlet will seek to prove the above and to illustrate its results. It is not meant to be definitive, but rather exploratory. It is dedicated to students everywhere, for together we must gain an understanding of the problems confronting us, and, with the strength our fellow citizens may add to our own, seek to transform universities into meaningful centers for the advancement of all society.

I would like to thank my many comrades and friends throughout the country who helped in the research for this pamphlet and who read and criticized it. Their contributions and efforts made this publication possible.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

The Financial Web

"I dealt in everything I could make a profit in, in the good old American way."

Regent Edwin Pauley of the University of California

Charles and Mary Beard in their second volume of the *Rise of American Civilization* (1927) remarked that "at the end of the [19th] century the roster of American trustees of higher learning reads like a corporation directory." Thorstein Veblen, about the time of World War I in the *Higher Learning in America*, concluded: "The final discretion in the affairs of the seats of learning is entrusted to men who have proven their capacity for work that has nothing in common with higher learning." Veblen was referring to big business control of universities.

State monopoly capitalism is the latest phase of the development of capitalism. It represents a still greater domination of the monopolies over the state power, in fact a fusion of the monopolies and the government, with state power functioning in the sphere of production itself enabling the monopolists who control the government to heighten the exploitation of the workers and small capital and to immensely increase their profits. Along with this process goes a greater involvement of the government in all spheres of social life to the benefit of the financiers and industrialists and to the harm of the people.

Hubert P. Beck, in a classic study published after the conclusion of World War II entitled, *Men Who Control Our Universities: The Economic and Social Composition of Governing Boards of Thirty Leading American Universities*, observed:

Altogether the evidence of major university-business connections at high levels seems overwhelming. The numerous high positions of power in industry, commerce, and finance held by at least two thirds of the members of the governing boards of these 30 leading universities would appear to give a decisive majority more than ample grounds for identifying their personal interests with those of business. (p. 83)

Beard, Veblen and Beck were quite accurate. Today the monopoly control over the universities is even greater. Increasingly, as the power of monopolies is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, so too the control over universities is narrowed. In addition, as we emerged in a period of state monopoly capitalism, one finds the hand of the Federal government entangled in university affairs. And, more often than not, federal interest is in the military arena—in perfecting old and developing new scientific techniques of war.

Herbert Aptheker, writing in *Political Affairs* of July, 1965 in an article entitled "Academic Freedom in the United States," expressed it well: "Increasingly, United States universities reflect not only the dominance of monopoly capitalism but also the developing trend towards state monopoly capitalism. This appears especially in the fact that more and more significant proportions of the incomes of universities derive from Government grants—particularly grants assisting the war-making potential." (p. 56)

At the end of this pamphlet will be found several charts showing, rather dramatically, the financial web enmeshing our academic institutions. I have taken a state university (University of California) and a private university (Harvard), denoting the Board members responsible for University affairs and the corporate interests to which they are connected through directorship or ownership. It will be seen that the *major* industrial, agricultural and banking interests of the particular region of the nation in which the institution is located, are represented on the board. Similar charts could be constructed, with varying degrees of pertinence, for every major university and college in the United States. It is this financial oligarchy which runs our universities.

The largest banking, industrial and agricultural interests are represented on the universities' governing boards. Take for example, the chairman of the Regents of the University of California. Edward Carter is President of Broadway-Hale stores, the largest department store chain in the West. He is a director of Emporium Capwell,

a northern California chain controlled by Broadway-Hale. In addition, Carter is a director of the Northrop corporation which produces military aircraft; Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Corporation with assets of \$692 million; Western Bancorporation, a bank-holding company that owns majority interests in 23 full-service commercial banks and has assets of \$6.2 billion; The United California Bank (owned by Western Bancorporation), the fifth largest bank in California; Pacific Telephone and Telegraph; and the Southern California Edison Company. He is a trustee of the Irvine Foundation which owns 51% of the Irvine Ranch, which owns 20% of Orange County. Parenthetically, Irvine is the site of the new U.C. campus. Additional information on these Regents may be found in an excellent pamphlet by UC graduate student Marvin Garson, entitled *The Regents*.

Simply disclosing the business interests of the regents is not sufficient. It is a fact that the universities are corporations themselves, which have their own investment policies. There is no safeguard in the rules of the regents to prevent regental conflict of interest. In other words, a regent with a controlling interest in a corporation may use his influence to introduce or maintain regental investment in his corporation. It is difficult to establish the details of these transactions because the investment policies of the regents are not generally made public!

Yet there are some public records. There was a discussion in a regents meeting at U.C. about how to dispose of a 500-acre tract owned by the University. It was disposed of as follows:

It is now recommended that an oil and gas lease be executed with the Signal Oil and Gas Company providing for a term of five years at \$7.50 per acre per year thereafter, and a one-sixth royalty. The treasurer advised that Regents Pauley and Mosher have recommended acceptance. (Minutes, Committee on Finance of the Regents of the University of California, October 18, 1963.)

Regent Mosher is chairman of Signal Gas and Oil Company.

At another meeting the Regents were discussing whether or not to maintain investments in the aerospace companies. Regent Canady "expressed his continued confidence in the industry . . . It was decided to retain present investments." (Minutes, Subcommittee on Investments, Regents of the University of California, October 17, 1963.) Mr. Canady is a vice-president of Lockheed Air-

craft, one of the aerospace companies.

Several other aspects of regental control are to be noted. Many regents are connected with companies which operate outside the borders of the United States. Such investments (of corporations), are particularly prevalent in Canada and Latin America. For example, both Pauley and Mosher of U.C. have extensive oil operations in Mexico. Overseers Davis, Friendly and Locke (of Harvard) have extensive Canadian interests, particularly in aluminum. Overseer Bigelow is a member of the Executive Committee of the United Fruit Company, notorious for its exploitation of Latin America.

A number of regents and overseers also control major newspapers and publishing empires—Mesdames Hearst and Chandler of U.C. and Mr. Crowle of Harvard.

Of crucial importance are the regental connections in banking and investment companies—those enterprises which finance American big business. Note David Rockefeller on the Harvard Board of Overseers. Rockefeller is a vice-chairman and director of the Chase Manhattan Bank. It is the principal financier of all American Oil companies. The bank has established a leading position in the aircraft-missile firm of Martin Marietta. In addition, the bank has billions of dollars in overseas investments.

The Bank of America, represented on the U.C. Board of Regents by its President, Jesse Tapp, is the largest financial interest on the West Coast. The bank has expanded enormously in overseas investments and is one of the three big U.S. banks in the volume of overseas deposits. "It concentrates on the Far East, Italy and Germany and probably does more business in the Far East than any other U.S. bank. However . . . it is connected . . . more than most U.S. banks, with locally-owned industry and operates more than most as the typical local representative of Wall Street to whom U.S. investing industrial corporations go for banking services." (Victor Perlo, *Militarism and Industry*, 1963, p. 175).

In addition, billions of dollars in endowments are given to universities and colleges by the very millionaires who control them, and by other less-fortunate savants who do not sit on the governing boards. Through their contributions, these men also maintain tight control over university affairs. How often have we heard our administrators warn us that if we make such and such a change, Messrs. X, Y and Z will cut off their endowments to the university.

On February 24, 1965 the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a liberal newspaper which in tortured prose had staggered to the support

of the Free-Speech Student Movement (FSM) wrote in an editorial "Alumni React to Sit-Ins at U.C." that it feared a drop-off in endowment to U.C. "... the drop-off of funds for Berkeley is legitimately worrisome. With the U.C. endowment currently at \$203 million ... the disaffection of prospective testators is clearly no trifling matter."

Ferdinand Lundberg in *America's Sixty Families* (Chapter X) expressed the intent of endowments very well:

Class consciousness is, perhaps, nowhere more clearly or amusingly manifested by the rich than in education. In no other sphere of pseudo-philanthropic activity is it more apparent that the rich, in escaping taxation by the expedient of creating tax-immune endowments, are merely transferring the money from one of their many capacious pockets to the other. (p 374)

The governing university boards are generally lily-white, the average age is 60, the dominant religion is Protestant. On occasion token changes are made. For example, "Labor" is supposedly represented on the University of California governing board by the presence of Cornelius Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department. One man from labor's highest echelons among some twenty of the richest capitalists in the State! It should be added that the building trades represent one of the most conservative sections of the labor movement.

Another token change that was made was the appointment of William Horowitz, a Jewish executive, to the Yale Board of Trustees. The *New York Times* of June 21, 1965 reported that Horowitz was the first non-Protestant on the University's Board. Of course, Horowitz is not devoid of appropriate business connections. The *Times* story reports: "Mr. Horowitz ... has been president of the General Bank and Trust Company of New Haven since 1954. Last year he was elected chairman of the board of the Winthrop Bank and Trust Company of New London, Connecticut. Mr. Horowitz is a vice-president of Baker Industries, Inc., Newark, New Jersey, of radio station WELI in New Haven, of Botwinik Brothers, Inc. and is treasurer of Eastern Machine Screw Corp. of New Haven.

The men and women on these governing boards exercise total control over the universities and colleges. For example, Article IX, section IX of the California State constitution specifically provides that the regents are given "complete powers of organization

and government." The regents have virtually absolute power over the affairs of the university. In California the regents are appointed by the governor for a 16-year term which is renewable. A situation either identical with or similar to the University of California exists throughout the land.

What price knowledge?

Uses of the University

... First they go to summer school/ And then to the university/ And they all come out in boxes/ Little boxes all the same/ There's a doctor and a lawyer and a business executive/ And they're all made out of ticky tacky/ And they all look just the same ...

(*Little Boxes*, music and lyrics by Malvina Reynolds)

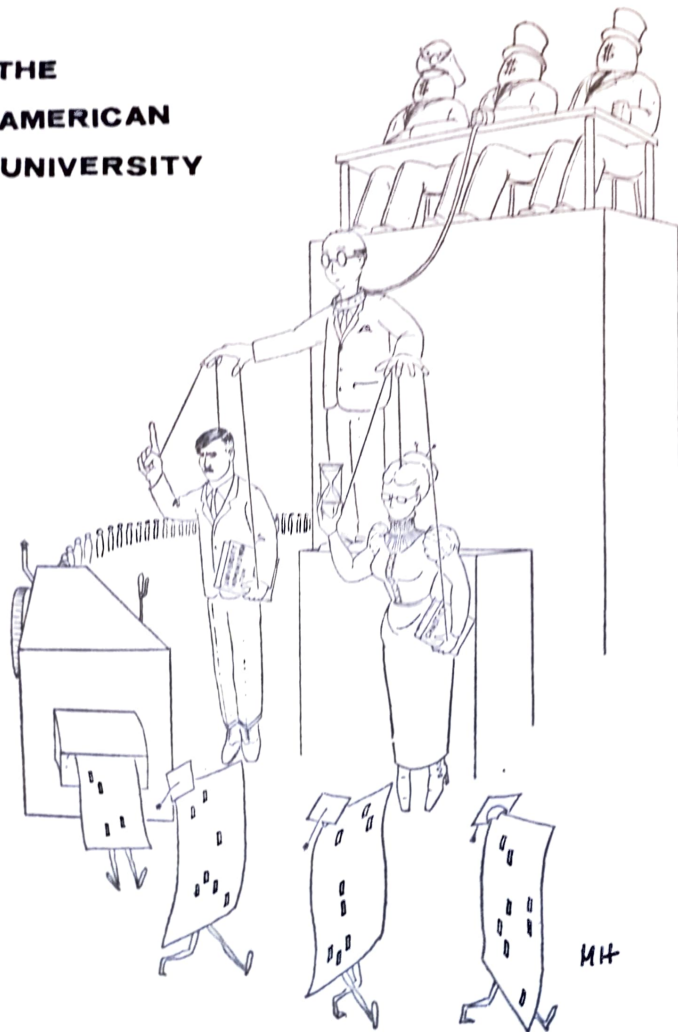
With university policy-making in the hands of governing boards composed of men and women with no academic standing, and with no understanding of the nature and needs of an academic community, the universities have become computerized centers to impart special skills and knowledge to the young for the perpetuation of the status quo. There are exceptions to this statement but its essential validity remains. There has been a concerted drive to computerize and monopolize education. The process has long since begun and, despite heroic resistance by students and professors, it has achieved a good measure of success.

Ruling class control of educational institutions is a long-standing tradition. What is different is the particular character of the American ruling class and the particular character of its control over education.

Hence, in an historical period characterized by intense contradiction in the system of state monopoly capitalism, the resultant conflicts in universities have reached crisis proportions. That conflict arises from the fact that universities are under the control of a corporate elite seeking their utilization to maintain and service a reactionary system; on the other hand the concepts of progress, of enlightened thought, of creative endeavor, are inherent in the idea of education and in the idea of the university.

Never have so many thousands of students felt so alienated from and irrelevant to the university. In the opening quotation of this pamphlet, alienation is the overriding sentiment. Mario Savio,

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY



leader of the Free Speech Movement, typified well the sentiment of a generation when he gave an impassioned defense of civil disobedience before ten thousand students, December 2, 1964 on the Berkeley campus:

There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you cannot take part, you can't even tacitly take part. And you've got to put your body upon the gears, and upon the wheels and upon the levers and upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who own it, and to the people who run it that unless you are free, their machine will be prevented from operating at all.

It is an immense tragedy that at a time in our lives when the university should have its greatest value, offer to us the profoundest wisdom, open to us the inspiration of the past and the challenge of the future, it serves rather to stifle, intimidate and alienate.

Universities, now referred to as "multiversities," have become in the words of U.C. President Clark Kerr "knowledge factories." They are run as if they were factories with the manager represented by the Board of Regents; the employees as the faculty; and the raw materials as the students. Perhaps the reader will consider the analogy to be unrealistic. But, consider the writings of Clark Kerr who has become the main ideologist for the new education system—the multiversity.

Kerr insists that he is not a partisan of the multiversity; neither is he an opponent. In his book *The Uses of the University* (Harvard, 1963) he proclaims himself to be the interpreter of reality. And this "reality" must be accepted.

Kerr writes: (All quotes are cited by Hal Draper in an excellent and accurate pamphlet, *The Mind of Clark Kerr*, published by the Independent Socialist Club, Berkeley, 1964.)

The production, distribution and consumption of 'knowledge' in all its forms is said to account for 29% of gross national product . . . and 'knowledge' production is growing about twice the rate of the rest of the economy. . . . What the railroads did for the second half of the last century and the automobile did for the first half of this century may be done for the second half of this century by the knowledge industry: that is, to serve as the focal point for national growth.

Drawing at left from *Insurgent*, Jan.-Feb. 1966

Kerr means literally, that universities are factories and professors are businessmen. He continues:

The university and segments of industry are becoming more alike. As the university becomes tied into the world of work, the professor—at least in the natural and some of the social sciences—takes on the characteristics of an entrepreneur. . . . The two worlds are merging physically and psychologically.

Kerr here outlines the *training*, not the education of students. The giants of big business invest in the university—spending billions of dollars—precisely because it is not only a good investment, it is a necessary one. The effects are catastrophic for youth. Our minds are to be sold as any other commodity. Students in the natural and physical sciences concentrate their efforts in their area of specialization, to the exclusion of or only limited experience in other fields. The result is often a superficial understanding of the worlds of literature, art, history and music. And the social scientists—the historian, the writer—learns little about the miracles of science, or the marvels of nature.

The content of education often reflects a capitalistic and therefore reactionary view of the world. This content is a central cause of the alienation felt by students. Cynicism, racism and anti-humanism are manifest. The theory of causation is denied, in both the social and natural sciences. The American revolution was not really a revolution, it was reformistic in character. The working people of America never struggled much—they were given things by benevolent capitalists. The history of the labor movement is distorted almost beyond recognition through commission and omission, and the Negro people are considered to be more or less irrelevant to the United States. Imperialism is a myth, and Marxism a criminality.

There are exceptions to this, but they are only exceptions. How many college youth ever heard of, much less really know and understand the great Negro leaders William Du Bois, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman? How many youth will ever read the *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829) by David Walker? Do students know of the organization of the CIO, of the 1934 General Strike of labor in San Francisco, of the Memorial Day Massacre in Chicago in 1937, etc.? Students feel their education in school to be profoundly irrelevant to life—life as they know

it—and, indeed, it is.

The situation is particularly bad for the undergraduate student. The undergraduate is totally non-productive—that is, he is still being trained, and does not as yet work, or do research, etc. To force the undergraduate to reach a productive level sooner, the governing boards have introduced a new technique which is nothing short of “academic speed-up.” This has taken many forms. For example, there has been an increase in the number of units a student must take each semester. The pressure is continuously on the student to finish his undergraduate studies in less than four years. The result is a vicious cycle of pressure on both professors and the student who takes five or six courses a semester turning out papers by the dozens, preparing for midterm examinations, and finally staggering into finals. One is so busy knocking out papers, catching up on reading assignments or studying for exams, one has no time to learn. To learn is not to memorize, but to think, to create. But there is no time to think.

Students, especially from the working class, are exploited in even more direct economic ways. Tuition at supposedly free, city and state-supported institutions exists, and is forever being raised. The tuition at state universities and private colleges is outrageous. There have, of course, been student protests against tuition. New York college students demonstrated at the State capitol and students, for example, at the University of Minnesota had a sit-in in June, 1965 when the administration refused to discuss its new tuition policies, much less change them. In addition, books for students cost a small fortune, and the housing situation is abominable, with rents constantly on the rise. Students, also for the most part unorganized and unskilled, in desperate need of work to continue their education, are a good supply of cheap labor. And students are employed at scab wages both on and off the campus.

Even more important is the decline of teaching standards. John Weiss, associate professor of history, Wayne State University, wrote recently:

The wise chairman [of a department] . . . will manipulate his teaching system so as to increase that portion of the budget he may spend to attract academic stars and graduate students. A man becomes an academic star or world class competitor in the market place by his ability to publish in accepted academic journals, read papers before his national association,

and publish books that are well-received by his well-known colleagues. . . . But however adequately set up, the standards of professional associations are not directly relevant to teaching; and increasingly these guilds set the standards for college and university appointment and promotion. Far beyond this the terrible fact is that the System has no standards of its own. (*New University Thought*, Summer, 1965, "The University as a Corporation," p. 41).

Professor Weiss' description is all too accurate. The current controversy over "Publish or Perish" is directly related to the entire problem of the professionalization and pressures under which the faculty must operate. The demands on scholars to publish has not only hurt the professors, but it has seriously undermined the purpose of education, and intensified the alienation so prevalent among students.

One may argue, as does Henry M. Wriston (*Saturday Review*, July 17, 1965, p. 59) president of the American Assembly, Columbia University: "In reality, publication [for tenure] is only one of several criteria, though a vital one. In any good institution, judgment of published material is based upon its quality rather than quantity." In part this argument has merit. Although from even limited experience as an undergraduate, a lot of scholarly and "acceptable" journals often appear to have a great deal of quantity and only limited quality from their scholarly contributors.

If the argument were conclusive, however, it would be impossible to explain the attitude of so many professors toward teaching (seen as a chore rather than a challenge) and the constant pressure which professors are under to produce. Nor does the argument hold when *Newsweek*, March 22, 1965 reports, "Just last week, Yalemen picketed the 'publish or perish' law which cost a popular philosophy teacher a tenured appointment, and at Brooklyn College students protested that a 'perform or perish' rule was behind the dismissal of a well-liked music professor." Nor does the argument explain the passion of U.C. political science professors Sheldon Wolin and John Schaar when they wrote in the *New York Review*, March 11, 1965 of the U.C. faculty's support of the Free Speech Movement:

For a time, the faculty forgot its lust for research, its shameful neglect of teaching, its acquiescence in the bureaucratization of the university. Setting aside the ethos of power

and growth, the faculty stirred to ancestral memories of the ideal of a community of scholars bound together in the spirit of friendly persuasion and pledged to truth rather than abundance. (p. 16)

Workshops of Death

Any view of American universities today would be incomplete without some examination of the role of the university in the military undertakings of the American ruling class. The role of the universities in the current drive to make new and more efficient instruments of death is of decisive importance to America's military might.

The Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (Rad Lab) at the University of California is a major center for war research. According to *Newsweek* (March 22, 1965, p. 45) "The annual budget of the 'Rad Lab' is almost half that of the rest of the Berkeley campus." The *Berkeley Gazette* of July 12, 1965 in a front page story reported that Dr. Harold Brown, former director of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, and one-time lecturer in physics at Berkeley, was named Air Force secretary by President Johnson. The article states "Most of Dr. Brown's scientific work is still classified but he was recognized in 1961 for his significant contribution to the development of the Polaris missile. He was also a leader in the research leading to detection of underground and outer space nuclear explosions." Encouragingly, the article also notes that Dr. Brown was a member of the U.S. delegation that negotiated the test ban on atmospheric nuclear explosions with the Soviet Union.

It is a fairly well-established fact that presently 56% of all the scientific research at University of California is done at the behest of the Atomic Energy Commission. The A.E.C. has an office almost across the street from the campus and there is a constant stream of AEC officials (recognizable by specially marked cars) visiting the Berkeley campus. Dr. Glenn Seaborg, a one-time chancellor of the Berkeley campus, is presently director of the Atomic Energy Commission.

American youth attending state universities have not been free from military indoctrination programs in the form of the Reserve Officers Training Corp (ROTC). The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 gave lands to states, the sale of which would provide funds to maintain state colleges. It required that courses in mechanics, agri-

culture and military tactics be offered. The military tactics requirement was, originally, not an essential part of the Act. But in later years this provision of the Morrill Act served as the basis for compulsory ROTC programs. By the end of World War I the matter of military training had been placed in the hands of the governing boards where it has remained.

In the period of intense militarization immediately following World War II, ROTC programs at most universities were not only compulsory, but took on greater importance. Beginning in 1956, at the University of California, and in the next few years at Michigan, Ohio and Washington State Universities, students waged heroic campaigns to rid themselves of compulsory ROTC. After prolonged struggle, with both the regents and the Department of the Army, compulsory ROTC was abolished.

For example, on June 29, 1962 in Los Angeles, the Regents of the University of California voted to end compulsory ROTC, beginning with the fall semester of that year. The Regents said that the Defense Department advised them that "compulsory basic ROTC was not needed to meet quality standards nor to produce the number of officers required." President Kerr, of U.C., stated that the action was taken "responsive to student petitions," but added that the proposal had confronted the Regents since 1877. On September 19, 1962 the chairman of the Military Science Department said that ROTC enrollment had declined 90%.

In addition to the University of California and the University of Washington (settled amidst the Boeing Aircraft industry) and other non-specialized institutions, there are the specialized technical institutions with Federal grants for war research. One thinks immediately of the California Institute of Technology and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Quite apart from these universities, each branch of the armed services has a special institute to train cadre. The U.S. Naval Academy, West Point and the Air Force Academy not only educate American officers, but are well-known as centers in which "Free World" soldiers are trained for officership—young men from Iran, Lebanon, West Germany, Spain, Portugal and Latin America. Indeed, Trujillo's son is a graduate of West Point, as is the leader of the Right-wing Dominican forces—Imbert Barreras.

"The American Century" idea became very popular about the end of World War I. The publishing empire of Henry Luce (*Time* and *Life*) did much to popularize the idea of Americanizing the

world. In this endeavor the universities have played a major role. The Americanization process has been intensified since World War II when American interests (both political and economic) began to dominate not only the so-called "underdeveloped" nations, but Western Europe as well. (For documentation on the vast foreign investments of American corporations, particularly those represented on the governing boards of universities, see Victor Perlo, *Militarism & Industry: Arms Profiteering in the Missile Age*, International Publishers, N. Y., 1963).

Yale University used to have a large institution in China in the "good old days," specifically designed to train technicians and missionaries. There is the American University in Paris. Johns Hopkins has a branch in Bologna, Italy. Columbia has a branch in Iran. Japan is saturated with American institutions. The University of California has branches in Latin America, for example, Mexico and Venezuela. U.C. opened a new branch in Spain in the Fall of 1964. And the *San Francisco Chronicle* of August 10, 1965 reported "a unique agreement of co-operation between the University of California and the University of Chile." The project is to be financed largely by the Ford Foundation. It calls for mutual exchanges of professors and students in five major area of studies—agriculture, veterinary medicine, natural sciences and engineering, social sciences and libraries.

In addition to the establishment of American universities and various exchange programs there are also fellowship programs for American professors—fellowships which are State Department grants to teach all over the world. Hundreds of professors are chosen to go to European, Latin American and Asian universities. One of these programs is known as the Fulbright Exchange Professorship Program.

There are also established private chairs (professorships) for Americans, in subjects such as American history, American civilization, literature and sociology. Such chairs exist in England, France, Spain, India, Japan, Taiwan and the Philippines.

American universities also "adopt countries." Interestingly enough, Michigan State University (scene of the first Vietnam teach-in) "adopted" South Vietnam. A large part of the Political Science faculty of Michigan State went to South Vietnam to "advise" the Diem regime on the theory of government, the use of police, the operation of the state, etc. During the upheavals and the subsequent removal of Diem, these professorial advisors were

arrested and deported.

Many of these programs in foreign countries are designed as "Americanization" efforts. However, many are also honest and scholarly exchanges. It would be wrong to draw the conclusion that all American universities abroad, and all American professors are "agents of imperialism."

In Loco Parentis

Keep the students safe for knowledge
Keep them loyal, keep them clean
This is why we have a college
Hail to IBM machine.

(U. C. Christmas Carol—FSM's "Joy to U.C.")

All students are painfully conscious of the administrative technique eloquently termed "*in loco parentis*." It's a fancy synonym for "make knowledge safe for students." *In loco parentis* becomes the umbrella under which administrators can and do justify censorship, speakers' bans, the firing of professors and the expulsion of students. It has been particularly damaging to the main academic pursuits of universities exactly because the administrators are either responsible to or are themselves representatives of the wealthiest and most reactionary sections of the corporate elite. It is in their interests to see that the quest for knowledge does not endanger their "system."

Some of the less intelligent U.C. regents make their motives perfectly clear. Oil millionaire Edwin W. Pauley, condemning an experimental educational program known as the Tusman Plan, blustered that the professors planning the program were Marxists and "if not Marxists at least believe in the Marxist theory, or if not that, at least disbelieve in the Capitalist system." And Pauley concluded in true pre-enlightenment splendor: "Before I go before the Legislature to ask for funds for the university I think I should at least have a letter from these men stating that they believe in the Capitalist system." (As reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 21, 1965). Fortunately many of the regents were not quite so crass and hastily sat on their colleague, and the faculty senate issued a strong condemnation of such regental tactics. Nevertheless Pauley's comments might have been damaging, and the whole con-

cept of *in loco parentis* makes possible such attempts to "protect" students from what some consider to be unhealthy ideas.

In an excellent editorial, "The Lesson of Berkeley," *Ramparts* magazine (March, 1965, Vol. 3 #6) declared: "American University life will never be quite the same after the student rebellion—a rebellion supported by the faculty—against a paternalistic and bungling administration that was incapable of recognizing that students could actually be *serious* about such abstract constitutional issues as free political movement and free speech." The editorial a few paragraphs later cogently observes, "During the long negotiations over freedom of speech President Kerr seemed more disposed to punish the students than to *listen* to them." The editors are correct. To preserve the very system of "*in loco parentis*," and with it full administrative authority, the President et. al, indeed acted in a "paternalistic" fashion. Never have students shown such utter contempt for Kerr's "infallible" system of authority.

Franklin D. Murphy, Chancellor of the Los Angeles campus of the University of California, wrote a remarkable article for *Mademoiselle*, August, 1965. He argued: "The old traditional university attitude of standing *in loco parentis* no longer holds today. . . . *In loco parentis* has got to be substantially modified. We cannot say: 'Well, it's all right for you to listen to this fellow because he's a good boy but it's wrong for you to listen to this person because I think he's a bad boy.' This is making a prejudgment that is unfair to the students."

Agreed. But to insure full academic freedom and to secure the full rights of students as human beings, *in loco parentis* must be not simply modified, but abolished.

Democracy or Autocracy?

I thought that was a mistake and that we should return this area to the students. But this was difficult. It had just been taken away—we could hardly turn around and hand it right back . . .

(President of U.C. Kerr comments on sudden prohibition of student political activity on University property in an interview, *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 6, 1965).

State monopoly capitalism is inherently anti-democratic. Its preservation rests upon its ability to concentrate all power unto

itself. This is a particularly striking reality as far as universities are concerned. In the decade of the 1950's the governing boards have made every effort to dominate university life. The authority of the Academic Senate of the faculty was severely limited (of course with great resistance). It is only in recent years that the faculty has sought to reassert its authority. Students saw the demise of their governments. Loyalty oaths were instituted. With terrifying rapidity scholars witnessed the curtailment of academic freedom, the ruthless suppression of dissent, and the elimination of the political liberties of all members of the academic community, including particularly the students. Thus, in the same period of history which saw the undermining of democracy in American society as a whole, the universities underwent such change, and were reflective of the general situation in the country. It has yet to be rectified.

One could only laugh in disbelief when on December 18, 1964, after the rebellion at Berkeley, with 800 arrested, a general strike and a faculty resolution supporting the students, the Regents piously resolved: "We do not contemplate that our regulations of political activity will go beyond the purview of the first and fourteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution."

A great deal has been written about the institution of loyalty oaths. Hundreds of America's finest scholars were fired. And thousands were terrified into acquiescence. Under the guise of anti-Communism the rights of all were damaged. Communists were fired, but so were hundreds of others labelled as communists. And with such a pall of fear it was impossible to say, teach, read and think the way *you* wanted to. Persons must be hired to teach on the basis of their academic achievements. And academicians should be in the forefront of the struggle for the right of all to teach—including and most important, Communists. Students are perfectly capable of discerning truth from falsehood. The educational experience would be more meaningful, have more value, if there was sharp and persuasive dissent within the academic community.

Part of the whole effort to pacify the academic community was the destruction of meaningful student government by the governing boards. It has happened all over the country, but not many students today are aware of the years it took to demolish their governments. An excellent study was done by University of Washington student Tom Martin (Seattle, Washington) in a paper published by Campus Reform and Action Movement, in April, 1965.

The pamphlet was entitled: "Article IX And the Demise of Student Government: A History." The pamphlet points out that between 1954 and 1956 student government was destroyed at the University of Washington. An amendment adopted Nov. 16, 1955, to Article IX of the 1906 Articles of Incorporation of the Associated Students of the University of Washington illustrates the loss of power of the student government at Washington:

The President of the University, acting for the Board of Regents has the right of final approval or disapproval of all actions of the Associated students of the University of Washington (ASUW) and the President, acting for the Board of Regents, has the right to require affirmative action on behalf of the ASUW, after a request by him that such action be taken, except that the President may not require affirmative action to be taken which would change the corporate structure of the ASUW.

Such amendments have been made to many constitutions of many universities. At the University of California, Berkeley, the ASUC is relegated to a similar position. In 1960 the graduate students at University of California were disenfranchised unilaterally by the Board of Regents (clearly because at that time the graduates were a decisive section of the radical moment). In the Spring, 1965 almost 10,000 California students voted to readmit the grads. It was part of an effort to reestablish student government. The Regents nullified the election and threatened to dissolve the ASUC. The matter is yet to be resolved.

Another gimmick to paralyze student government was the introduction of the concept of "on" and "off" campus issues. Student governments are forbidden to take stands on most everything except the internal affairs of the campus, and these resolutions are subject to administrative veto. Thus, it would be "illegal" today for students through their governments to oppose the war in Vietnam, although with each passing day it appears that more and more students will be called upon to fight.

The demise of effective student government has created a situation in which tens of thousands of students have no voice in determining their lives. The Regents do as they please to millions who without voice or strength have been relegated to second-class citizenship.

The echelons of power in the university are something to behold.

No administrator will make a decision, even about a trifling matter, fearing that others will overrule him. The little deans run to the big dean; and the big dean runs to all the little chancellors who turn to The Chancellor; who in turn seeks out all the little presidents, who turn to the President—who finds it difficult to sneeze without approval from 51% of the governing board. And in this vast bureaucracy the faculty is weak, and students powerless. Mario Savio once remarked: "The Chancellor at best is nothing more than a benevolent dictator." How right he is. How can there be academic inquiry, development and growth in a stifling atmosphere of hierarchies and fears? Is it not impossible when the hierarchy is built by the ruling boards, specifically to insure their omnipotence? And does this not lead to a terrible loss of academic freedom?

The reality is, of course, that academic freedom is intimately bound to political liberty. Loss of one necessitates loss or curtailment of the other. Lawrence W. Levine, assistant professor of American history at Berkeley, expressed it well when he wrote: (*Issue: Those Who Make the Waves*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring, 1965, published by University Church Council, Berkeley, Calif.).

Those of my colleagues who assert that there are distinctions between academic and political liberties, are, I think, making only half the point. It may well be true that these are distinct freedoms, but the real question is whether they are separate freedoms; whether we can struggle for and possess the one without the other; whether in a modern democratic state, a popular or official spirit which does not respect the academic's civic concerns will respect and safeguard his professional and intellectual ones. (p. 43)

As the students and faculties continue to press for their rights both academically and politically, and as gains are made, society as a whole will be democratized. The struggle is a difficult one for as the students and faculties continue to press for their rights, so the pressures on the administration grow. And rather than protect the sacred rights of the university, the Boards of Regents acquiesces. They do so because ideologically they are themselves often in sympathy with the reactionary political forces pressuring the university.

Professor Robert Murphy (anthropology) formerly of Berkeley, presently at Columbia, wrote in a letter to the *NY Times*, January 11, 1965:

In actuality, the [U.C.] administration is under constant pressure from quite powerful right-wing groups in the state, and it has tried to answer these critics by dampening controversy. To this extent the university has already become politically victimized and intellectually compromised, for it has removed itself from the area of free debate.

Dr. Murphy clarifies an important point. There are important splits in the ruling class—i.e. there is a powerful right-wing, only some of whose members are represented on governing boards. Although there be ideological unity in general terms as to the role and purpose of the university, there may be and generally are, very important tactical differences between regents, or legislators—differences which should not be overlooked, but capitalized upon to the fullest extent possible, to advance academic and political freedoms.

To restore academic and political liberties on the campus it is essential to curtail and eventually eliminate regental authority. In this way we can democratize the campus and rebuild the university community.

Can Students Win?

... If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters . . . Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will . . .

(Frederick Douglass, West Indian Emancipation Speech, August, 1857)

With the governing boards of universities controlled by the financiers and industrialists as they are, there is real question in the minds of many about the possibilities of success in the student movement. It is not the intention to give the impression that student victories will be easily won, but neither is undue pessimism justified. For if pessimism leads to abstention from struggle, there will be no gains; on the contrary, there will be further repression. Through intensive political struggle, it is possible to make significant gains. In this connection consider the results of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley (FSM).

There exists on the Berkeley campus a general consensus among students and faculty concerning the regulation of political activity. Namely, the administration will in no way regulate the content of speech. It is also true that the Regents have yet to adopt the faculty-student position. Despite this, real gains have been made both locally and nationally, as a result of FSM. Large sections of the community have supported the students; many are questioning the total powers held by the regents. Nationally the impact of Berkeley is evident.

The support for the FSM following the December, 1964 arrests was widespread. If the supporters had done more we would have won more, but what was achieved was by no means inconsequential. The Central Labor Councils of Alameda, San Francisco and Contra Costa counties issued strong statements of support. George Hardy of the San Francisco Central Labor Council called for an investigation of the Board of Regents and suggested that it should be completely revamped. *The East Bay Labor Journal*, official organ of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, ran a fine editorial in support of the FSM. And the *Dispatcher*, official organ of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, in a splendid editorial, wrote: "Whenever and wherever people fight for their constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, they fight for everybody's freedom and we in the labor movement must surely be the first to recognize that fact." The editorial concluded with a plea that all charges against the sit-inners be dropped. The California Federation of Teachers voted overwhelmingly to begin an investigation of the Board of Regents, and called for substantial changes in its composition.

Support was forthcoming from Negro leaders and civil rights organizations. James Farmer came to the Berkeley campus and in his speech pledged the support of national CORE. John Lewis of SNCC had long made known his support for the FSM. James Baldwin spoke at the Masonic Auditorium in San Francisco, and donated the proceeds from that talk to FSM. The great struggle of the Negro people made necessary and possible the FSM, and the continued support of that Movement made possible our ability to continue the fight.

San Francisco Bay Area psychiatrists and physicians mobilized to have ads supporting the FSM printed in the local newspapers. Parents of the arrested students, both in the Bay Area and in Los Angeles, formed Parents Defense Committees. Letters and tele-

grams flooded the offices of the Board of Regents, the President and the Governor condemning their actions. Newspaper columnists Ralph Gleason and Art Hoppe of the *S. F. Chronicle* wrote in defense of the FSM.

Assemblymen Willie Brown, John Burton and William Stanton came to campus and were in the lead of the opposition in the Democratic Party to the policies of Edmund G. Brown, Democratic governor who called police onto the campus. William Stanton has introduced Assembly Constitutional Amendment 46 which is intended to alter substantially the powers and responsibilities of the Regents. (See pp. 32-33)

The U.C. Regents appointed a Los Angeles attorney, Jerome C. Byrne, to prepare a detailed report on the demonstrations at the University. When the Byrne report was completed the Regents, after spending \$75,000 for it, tried to prevent its public release. Byrne vindicated the students, severely criticized the Regents and their actions during the Fall Semester. Byrne proposed a complete change in the powers of the Board, and introduced the idea of the autonomy of the individual campuses. One may not agree with all the proposals made by Byrne. Nevertheless, objectively the report represents another force directed against the Regents, and it is invaluable.

The Byrne report observed:

The crisis at Berkeley last Fall has become known as the free speech controversy. It was that, but more fundamentally it was a crisis in government, caused by the failure of the President and the Regents to develop a governmental structure at once acceptable to the governed and suited to the vastly increased complexity of the University.

The FSM was not the end of a struggle. It was the beginning of a long process of change all across the country. The movement for free speech raised questions and challenged educational assumptions. It offered a minimal program for and succeeded in gaining certain political rights for students—rights exercised de facto which must now be insured permanence in the regulations governing student political activity. The FSM lent direction and gave impetus to a student movement seeking redress of grievances on campuses throughout the nation.

Look at the thousands who have demonstrated at universities

across the land since the FSM—for lower tuition, an end to the Communist speakers' ban, for non-discrimination in fraternities and sororities. There have been many victories, and some set-backs. But there is no question as to the forward direction of the Movement.

It is clear that when thousands demonstrate over a prolonged period dramatic changes can be made. People have wrought changes in the past, and they will continue to do so. Dr. DuBois, the great Negro historian, wrote in his "Farewell Message": "Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life. The only possible death is to lose belief in this truth because the great end comes slowly; because time is long . . ."

We should proceed calmly and with optimism—our actions tempered always by our perception of reality.

A PROGRAM TO DEMOCRATIZE THE UNIVERSITIES

"The Right of Revolution is the first right of a Free People."

THOMAS JEFFERSON

There are 5½ million college students in the United States today. The number is constantly increasing. The increase in students parallels, and in some ways affects, the growing intensity of the crisis in higher education. We have endeavored to show that the democratization of campus life—the central task which faces students today—is an effort to curtail regental control of university life. Further, we have argued, that the democratization of the campus requires not only reforms in the arena of academic and political freedom, but also reform in the economic arena, in terms of enabling all young people, without regard to race or class, to attend college. Any approach to a program for change must reflect all of these factors.

The struggle to curtail or eliminate the monopoly control of universities requires a two-fold effort. The first centers on local campuses asserting the authority, the power of students and/or faculty, over the power of the administration. The second centers around the struggle to alter the composition of the Regents and to constitutionally change their powers and responsibilities. The first approach is the more immediate. But objectively it results in the weakening of regental power, and hence becomes essential to the success of the second effort, which is to alter or abolish that power.

What is presented here represents an ultimate goal to be achieved in the fundamental overhauling of higher education. Immediate programs are needed that move in this general direction. What is being proposed, however, is not a utopian scheme. It does exist in the socialist countries.

It is the opinion of this writer that the full democratization of the universities and colleges, the final establishment of true universities which relate to a meaningful society will take place only under a new, more advanced social system—Socialism. But, that does not mean that under the present system the universities cannot be improved. They should and can be. And as advances are made within the academic community, the entire society will benefit.

Let us turn then, to some suggestions for changes in the University. This is by no means meant as a blue-print for action, because individual campuses and their immediate needs obviously differ. It does represent in its aggregate some concept of what is meant by the democratization of the university.

It should be a right of all young people to be able to attend college. No young person should be forced to leave school because he cannot afford it. There is one way to insure against such financial problems and that is to *abolish tuition*. In fact, students, rather than paying for their education, should be paid to get on! Students should receive stipends and scholarships. Federal and state government budgets, geared for peace rather than interminable wars, could easily finance such an effort. It wouldn't thicken already bulging pockets with profits; but what profit in human achievement if everyone had the inalienable right to Learn! It would revolutionize education in America.

At the same time that the doors of the universities are opened up to the floods of young people who cannot now afford to go, so must their facilities and staffs be expanded. On a peace-time budget, with governmental aid forthcoming, new universities and colleges could be built and staffed; facilities and equipment could be increased and expanded in already existing universities and colleges. Simultaneously with this overall expansion could come a decrease in the size of classes, and an increase in the intimacy between professors and students, and so forth. In other words the expansion of facilities must outstrip the expansion of the students in attendance. If it were done, education would undergo a great humanizing process.

There must be a general lessening of student financial burdens above and beyond the question of tuition, and in this connection consider a number of things: Cut down the cost of textbooks and paperback books. At minimum students should get a co-op book store where substantial discounts on all books are forthcoming. All books published by university presses, whether they be cloth or paper editions, should be priced minimally. Student housing facilities should be built by universities and colleges. Such housing should be on a low-income basis, for married and unmarried students, and should be totally unrestrictive (i.e. no policies of "in loco parentis"). All dormitory facilities should be run on a non-profit basis. In towns and cities where students live there should be rent control to insure against outrageous rents.

Every university and college should have a student health center which affords full and free medical care to all students, their spouses and children. What is needed is not a first-aid center, but a hospital, where everything from minor scratches to surgery can be handled. Such facilities should also include both dentistry and optometry.

All student workers employed by universities should receive a minimum wage of \$2.00 an hour. All university and college employees must have the right to organize into unions. They must attain union recognition, be able to bargain collectively, etc. This includes student and non-student employees. Most universities are today notorious for their conscious anti-unionism.

Special consideration must be given by all universities and colleges to afford compensatory education for Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority youth. These young people are now denied fair entrance into universities and colleges because of the racism and chauvinism creating second rate ghetto schools. It is not enough, (although it must be done) to open up the door to these young people. Every effort must be made for universities to adopt crash programs and tutorial projects to compensate for the terrible academic standards of ghetto schools. There must then be a compensatory education program to wipe out the decades of discrimination.

There must be a democratization of curriculum. The two level educational system of vocational vs. liberal education must be abolished. All students must receive a well-rounded and balanced program, simultaneously affording them the opportunity for specialization. So too should there be joint faculty-student committees to plan and *finalize* curriculum. Both efforts are first steps in ending the role of universities as "training centers."

Student governments must be made meaningful voices for student opinion. All administrative vetoes over student government affairs must be abolished. All distinction between on and off campus issues must be eliminated. Student governments must have the right to reflect and take action upon all issues. And *all* students . . . *graduate* and undergraduate must be represented proportionately in student governments.

All constitutionally protected rights of citizens off the campus, must be rights of students on the campus. This must include no administrative regulation of the content of speech, or the content of the student press. Students must have the right to advocate on

campus without restriction. Students must have the right to hear all points of view and therefore invite off-campus speakers to campus, without administrative interference, which of course means the abolition of all Communist speakers bans. Students must have the right to organize into their own political groups on campus, without interference. All students cited for discipline should be brought before a faculty-student committee which has *final* authority (that is, the Committee should not be advisory to the chief campus officer). The student must be guaranteed due process, including a presumption of innocence, the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, the right to counsel, the right to a public hearing, etc. Finally, a schedule of penalties should be adopted to fit the "crime," establishing the principle of no academic penalties for non-academic offenses.

An all-out effort must be made to preserve the intellectual integrity of institutions of higher learning by divorcing them from all military and war-research projects. This can be done, even on the minimal basis of professorial refusal to accept war research grants, which will be a beginning. University facilities should be used for peace, not for war. That is a principle to which a university must be committed.

The faculty must have final authority in the hiring of academic personnel. With the exception of staffs for *administrative* offices, the faculty should make all decisions concerning professors, assistants, laboratory technicians, etc.

Communists must be permitted to teach. Academic competence must be based upon scholarship, not upon political viewpoint.

A Constitutional Amendment

Finally, consider the possibility of a political struggle waged around a constitutional amendment to alter the powers and responsibilities of the governing boards. Such an amendment, proposed by assemblyman William Stanton, was referred to previously. While having some reservations about sections of it, look at the possibility for real change such an amendment offers. The amendment would make the following changes in the California Board of Regents:

1. Elimination of all ex-officio members except the Governor.
2. Appointed members would serve a non-renewable 8-year term, rather than the present 16-year renewable procedure.
3. Each appointed member would be selected by the Governor

from a panel of five (5) names proposed by the Academic Senate of the University.

4. The jurisdiction of the Board of Regents would be limited to the material corpus of the University. Jurisdiction over the intellectual corpus of the university would be with the faculty.

5. Explicit provisions for open meeting of the Regents, unless personnel matters are involved. In such cases, the subject of personnel matter is entitled to an open meeting if he wishes it.

6. No regent would be permitted to participate in or influence a decision affecting the University if the Regent has any personal interest in the matter. Furthermore, the regent must file a statement indicating the nature of the conflict which he believes to exist.

7. An explicit statement that the duty of the regents is to act as a shield to protect academic freedom at the university and under no circumstances shall a regent attempt to interfere with the exercise of academic freedom.

Such were the proposals of William Stanton. One might add that governing boards should not be permitted to invest university money in private industry, but must invest it in government bonds. Such a provision would end the regents' use of university lands and funds for their private gain.

The grievances of all students, whether they be in junior colleges, private colleges or universities, are very similar, for all academic institutions are afflicted with the cancer of monopoly control. If we have common problems which vary in intensity, we can solve some of them through united action. The source of our problem is monopoly control. Hence, the direction of our movement must be to curtail or eliminate that control. Such efforts will greatly add to the democratization not only of academia, but of many aspects of American life.

The students alone, even if fully united, will not succeed. We must unite with the faculty. More than that we must unite with all sections of the community that, for whatever reason, oppose and fight monopoly. Within such a united effort, the students' demands and interests retain their independence; but the demands cannot be realized through independent struggle alone. We must seek and gain the support of the labor movement, the peace and civil rights movements.

It can be done. If we succeed, in some manner, to wrest control of the universities from their governing boards as presently constituted, we will weaken monopolies in general and strengthen the

forces for Peace, Freedom and Socialism.

In an even larger sense must we stand united. For as students we are not isolated from, but rather we are part of society. We have already joined in the struggles of the American people to withdraw American troops and insure peace and self-determination to the people of Vietnam; we have joined the struggle to achieve full equality—political, economic and social—for our Negro brothers. Our own ability to participate more fully, in terms of number, freedom of action, and intellectual contribution will be curtailed, unless at the same time we fight to free ourselves, not only from the shackles of the monopoly control of the University, but of the domination by capitalism over the lives and liberties of the people.

Most of us were born with the Bomb. The shadow has crept with us as we matured into Life. In the distance we see a clear horizon. Let us be firm in our belief that together we can and must build a university community commensurate with the noblest aspirations of Man.

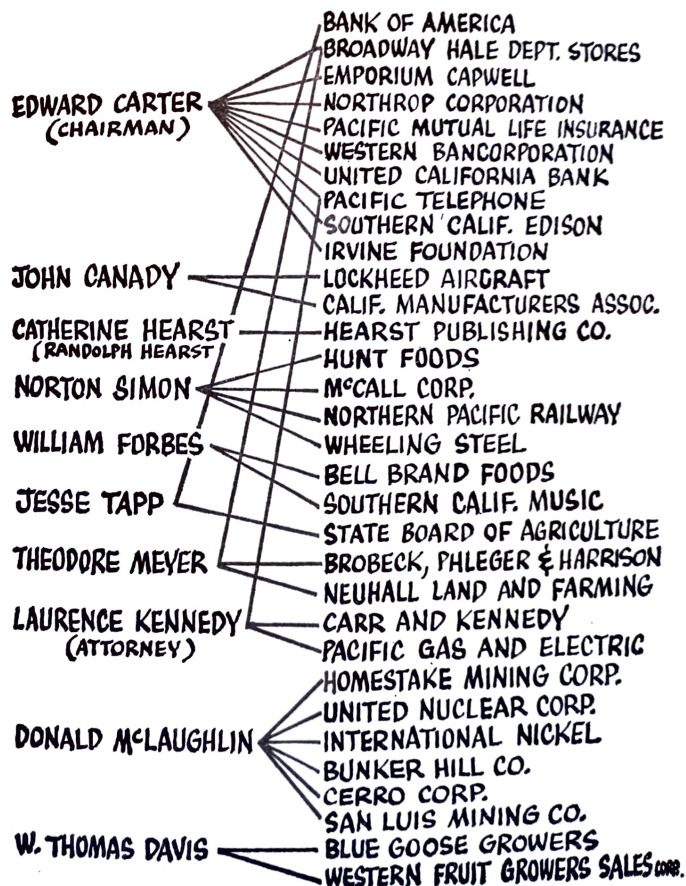
THE WEB - PART I

THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

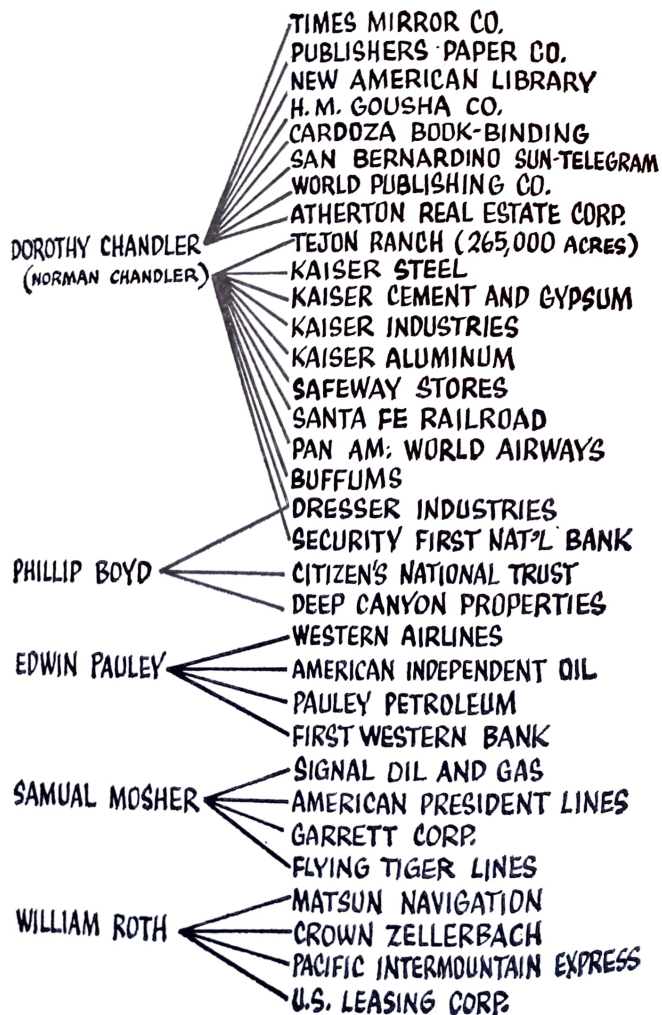
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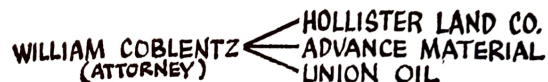
POOR'S REGISTER OF DIRECTORS AND EXECUTIVES



THE WEB PART I (CONTINUED)



THE WEB PART I (CONTINUED)



ALSO ON THE REGENTS ARE EDMUND BROWN (GOVERNOR) GLENN ANDERSON (LT. GOV.) JESSE UNRUH (ASSEMBLY SPEAKER) MAX RAFFERTY (STATE SUPT. OF SCHOOLS) CLARK KEER (U.C. PRES) ELMER HELLER, FREDERICK DUTTON (AN ATTORNEY) AND CORNELIUS HAGGERTY (PRES. AFL-CIO BUILDING TRADES UNION)

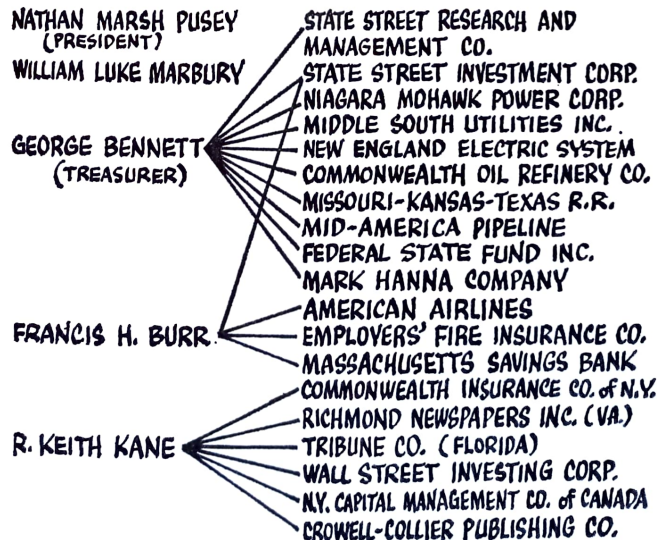
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HARVARD - CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

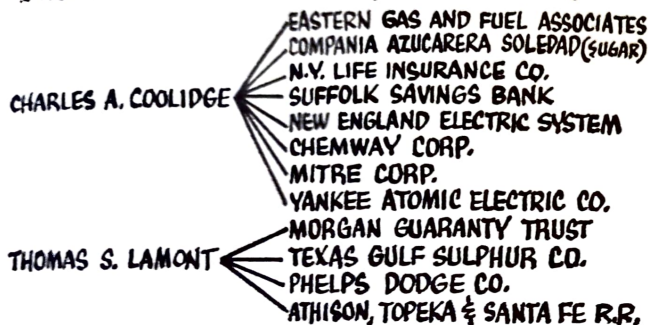
THE HARVARD CORPORATION

MEMBERS OF THE CORPORATION DETERMINE HARVARD'S INVESTMENT POLICY

CONNECTING LINES INDICATE OWNERSHIP OR DIRECTORSHIP)



THE WEB PART II (CONTINUED)

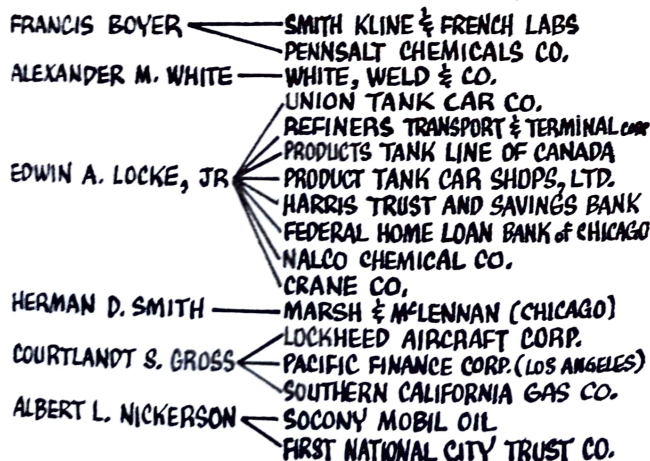


THE WEB PART III

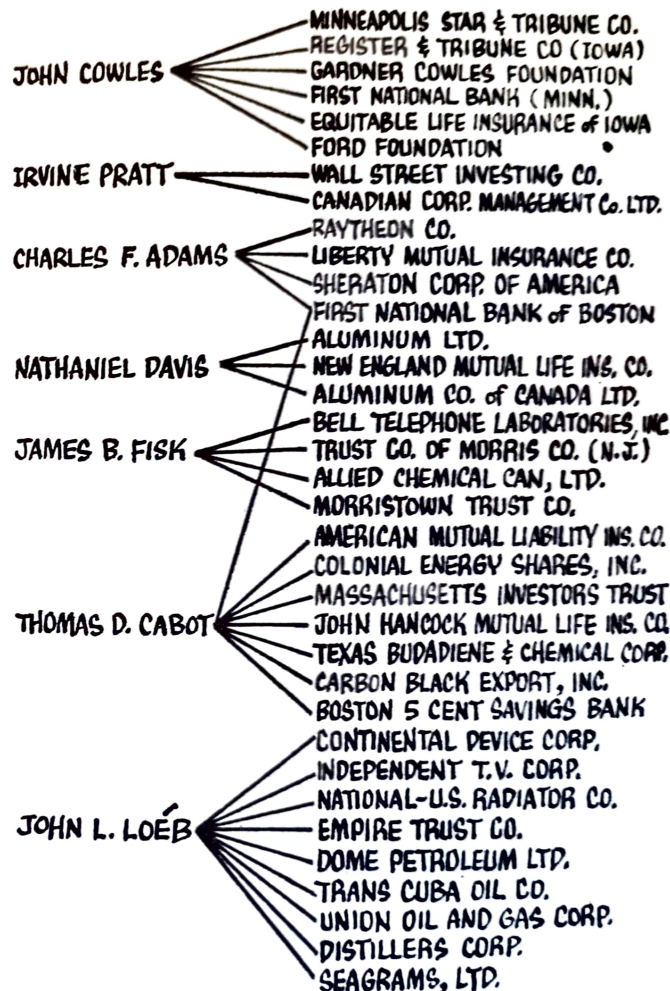
HARVARD'S BOARD OF OVERSEERS

(BOARD DETERMINES GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICY)

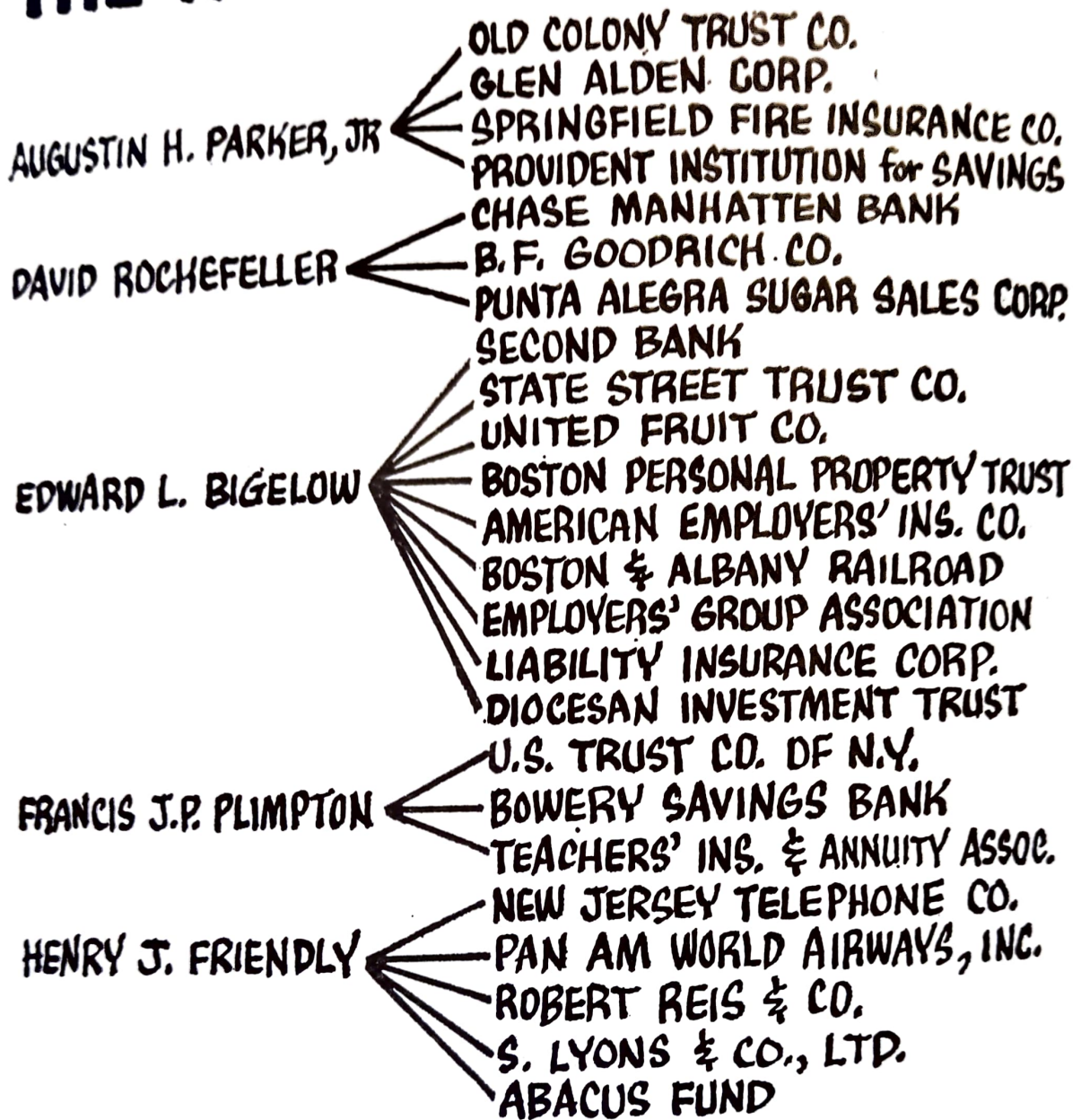
Lines indicate ownership, trusteeship or directorship



THE WEB PART III (CONTINUED)



THE WEB PART III (CONTINUED)



THERE IS NO PUBLIC INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON
THE FINANCIAL INTERESTS OF THE FOLLOWING
OVERSEERS:

JAMES M. FAULKNER • WILLIAM G. SALTONSTALL •
JOSEPH E. LUMBARD • RALPH BUNCHE •
GEORGE A. BROWNELL • NEIL H. McELROY •
JAMES P. BAXTER • ROBERT F. LOEB •
PAUL C. REARDON • ARCHIBALD COX •
FRANCIS S. CHEEVER • ROBERT AMORY, JR.